

Ritual Change in a Taoist Tradition: The Development of the *Jiao* in Northern Taiwan

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Abstract

Taoist ritual is often presented as an unchanging relic of past times, transmitted by generations of masters. While many rites carried out by modern-day Taoist priests in Taiwan do indeed have a long history, a focus on historical continuity may conceal the fact that Taoist ritual can and does change over time. In this paper, I discuss changes in the practice of the *jiao*, one of the most important Taoist ceremonies, as it is carried out in northern Taiwan. Basing myself on scholarly descriptions of *jiao* from different eras, records by temples and ethnographic fieldwork carried out between 2013 and 2017, and focusing on the appearance of several new elements in the *jiao*, I argue that particular historical circumstances may lead to the inclusion of new elements in the program of a *jiao* and that such elements, once introduced, will quickly become a fixed part of the program.

Keywords: Taoism, Taiwan, *jiao*, ritual change

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Following the ‘discovery’, half a century ago, of living Taoist ritual traditions in Taiwan, scholars have tended to emphasized the continuity between earlier traditions and modern practice. This continuity was found in the continued performance of certain rites during particular ceremonies, or in the unchanging nature of the ritual sequences of which these rites consisted.¹ At times, continuity was also claimed for the program of complete ceremonies. Master Chuang, for instance, the Hsinchu priest made famous by Michael Saso, reportedly claimed that the program of his *jiao* 醮—one of the major ceremonies of Taoist priests in Taiwan—had remained unchanged since the Tang dynasty.²

Considering the importance that is often assigned—both by practitioners of the different forms of religion in the greater Chinese world and by scholars studying them—to orthopraxy (or correct practice) over orthodoxy (or correct beliefs), a focus on continuity should probably not come as a surprise. Still, such an emphasis may obscure changes in Taoist practice, which, as the history of Taoism makes clear, have frequently occurred—even if historical scholarship has tended to focus on the larger developments or the more drastic changes. The questions how and why practices change on a local level have received less attention, something which may be due to the fact that such changes are often not easily traced. Historical descriptions of ceremonies and ritual practice are scarce, making it very difficult to gain insights into the availability of particular texts and the way they were used at particular points in time.

In some cases, however, sources that can shed light on such developments are available. Below, I will discuss changes in the practice of the *jiao* of a particular tradition of Taoist priests that has been active in northern Taiwan for some two-hundred years, focusing on developments that took place during the twentieth

¹ See for instance Dean, *Taoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China*, “Daoist Ritual Today”; Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History*.

² Saso, *Taoist Master Chuang*. Throughout this paper, Mandarin terms are italicized and Taiwanese terms underlined. As Taiwanese was the language most commonly used by the priests whose practices are discussed in this paper, I have chosen to give the Taiwanese transcriptions of most terms. I have made exceptions for terms and names that are well-known throughout the field of Taoist studies, like for instance the word *jiao* or the names of religious texts and deities, as well as for names temples, geographical locations, and the names of authors.

century. The discussion is based on observations and comments made by priests during fieldwork carried out in northern Taiwan between 2013 and 2017, texts in use by these priests, reports of *jiao* made by temples, and studies and observations by outsiders. I will focus on the development of the *jiao* in the twentieth century and the appearance of two sets of scriptures in the programs of the *jiao* in the decades following 1945—the *Wudoujing* 五斗經 or *Scriptures of the Five Dippers*, a set of texts consisting of five different scriptures, and the ten scrolls of the *Chaotian baochan* 朝天寶懺 or *Precious Penances in Homage to Heaven*. I argue that while the program of the *jiao* has been relatively stable, particular historical circumstances have led to the inclusion of new elements in the program of the *jiao* as carried out by priests in Northern Taiwan and that such elements, once introduced, quickly became a fixed part of the program.

The Northern Priests

The priests whose practices are discussed in this paper were ritual specialists who used specialized knowledge to organize and carry out different kinds of ceremonies for a broad range of clients, including temples, businesses, government institutions, and individuals. These priests identified as members of the same tradition, or ‘branch’ (phai 派), of Taoism, which meant that they would carry out ceremonies and the distinct rites of which these consisted in more or less similar ways—ways that were different from that of priests of other traditions. An important part of their ceremonies would require multiple priests to cooperate, and priests from different areas in northern Taiwan would often work together. The priests would use the name Cheng-it 正一 to refer to priests who worked in the same way as they did—for them, priests who carried out rites in a different way would not be Cheng-it priests.³ Alternatively, priests would sometimes use the word ang-thau 紅頭 or ‘redhead’ as an autonym. As the terms Cheng-it and ang-thau are also used to refer to specialists from other traditions, and the priests discussed below were mostly

³ Cheng-it is of course the Taiwanese transcription of the Mandarin *Zhengyi*, one of the two main branches of Taoism. Priests would have a very specific understanding of this word, which was not the same as the way in which scholars may understand this term, hence the choice for the Taiwanese transcription for their specific understanding

active in northern Taiwan, I employ the term ‘northern priests’ to describe them.⁴

The northern priests have received considerable scholarly attention. Liu Chi-wan conducted case-studies of several *jiao* carried out in the 1960s by their predecessors;⁵ in the decades that followed, other authors also described their ceremonies and rites.⁶ John Lagerwey and Lin Chen-yuan have pointed out that the origins of this tradition lie in and around Zhao'an 詔安 county in Fujian province and that it arrived in northern Taiwan roughly two hundred years ago.⁷

The practice of the northern priests is perhaps best described with two four-character phrases that priests themselves would frequently employ on items

⁴ The priests among whom I carried out my fieldwork were active in the cities and counties of Hsinchu, Taoyuan, Taipei, New Taipei, Keelung and Yilan. In all these areas, with the exception perhaps of Hsinchu, the northern priests represented the dominant Taoist tradition, in the sense that they would typically be hired for the most important ceremonies organized by temples and other institutions. In Hsinchu, the northern priests were perhaps not as dominant and had to compete with priests from another tradition (i.e. the tradition of Master Chuang studied by Saso); the same would apply in other areas in Taiwan.

⁵ See Liu Chi-wan 劉枝萬, *Taipei shi Songshan qi'an jianjiao jidian* 台北市松山新安建醮祭典, *Taiwan no Dōkyō to minkan shinkō* 台灣の道教と民間信仰, *Taiwan minjian xinyang lunji* 臺灣民間信仰論集.

⁶ See for instance Kuepers, “A Description of the Fa-Ch'ang Ritual as Practiced by the Lü-shan Taoists of Northern Taiwan”; Hsu Li-ling 許麗玲, “Taiwan beibu hongtou fashi fachang buyun yishi” 臺灣北部紅頭法師法場補運儀式, “Le rituel fachang: Un rituel d'exorcisme et de guérison effectué par les maîtres têtes rouges du nord de Taiwan”, “Jibing yu eyun de zhuanyi: Taiwan beibu hongtou fashi dabuyun yishi fenxi” 疾病與厄運的轉移：台灣北部紅頭法師大補運儀式分析; Lagerwey, “Les têtes des démons tombent par milliers: le fachang, rituel exorciste du nord de Taiwan”, “The Fachang Ritual in Northern Taiwan”; Lee Fong-mao 李豐楙, “Daofa ermen: Taiwan zhong, beibu de daofa fuhe” 道法二門：台灣中北部的道法複合; Lin Chen-Yuan, “Pour un «Taoïsme de proximité»: les petits rituels Taoïstes quotidiens à Taiwan”; Lü Ch'ui-k'uan 呂鍾寬, *Taiwan de dao jiao yishi yu yinyue* 台灣的道教儀式與音樂; Chiu Kun-liang 邱坤良, *Juchang yu dao chang, guanzhong yu xinzhong: Taiwan xiju yu yishi lunji* 劇場與道場，觀眾與信眾：臺灣戲劇與儀式論集.

⁷ Lagerwey, “Les lignées Taoïstes du nord de Taiwan”, “Les lignées Taoïstes du nord de Taiwan (suite et fin)”; Lin Chen-Yuan 林振源, “Zheng xie zhi bian, daofa zhi he: Taiwan beibu daofa ermen yuanliu” 正邪之辨、道法之合：臺灣北部道法二門源流.

such as business cards or signboards. These phrases were choan-bun kiāt-su 專門吉事 or ‘specialized in auspicious matters’ and tō-hoat ji-mng 道法二門—a phrase that has been translated as ‘double gate of Dao and Methods’.⁸ The first phrase was used to clarify that they would not carry out funerary rites—rites that were considered to be inauspicious and, in northern Taiwan, were traditionally the domain of priests belonging to a Buddhist tradition often referred to as Sek-kau 釋教. The second phrase was usually taken to refer to the two different ritual systems employed by the priests in the performance of ceremonies. The origins and practice of these two systems, their differences, and the origin of the phrase tō-hoat ji-mng have been discussed elsewhere;⁹ here, it will suffice to note that the *jiao*, the type of ceremony discussed below, is the prime example of a ceremony consisting of tō / *dao* rites.

The Three-Day *Jiao* of the Northern Priests

As Liu Chi-wan notes in his study of the 1963 *jiao* at the Songshan 松山 Mazu 媽祖 temple, the exact meaning of the word *jiao* has changed throughout history, although it is almost always related to the word’s original meaning of ‘offering’. In Taiwan, Liu explains, *jiao* could be organized for a number of reasons, including driving out epidemics, the anniversary of a deity, preventing calamities such as fires or floods, celebrating the completion of a temple, or simply praying for peace.¹⁰ By the time I was doing fieldwork, in northern Taiwan *jiao* were mostly organized for the last two reasons.

While the northern priests could use the word *jiao* in different ways, they would typically use it to refer to a multiple-day ceremony with a particular program

⁸ See Lin Chen-Yuan 林振源, “Zheng xie zhi bian, daofa zhi he: Taiwan beibu daofa ermen yuanliu” 正邪之辨、道法之合：臺灣北部道法二門源流.

⁹ See Lagerwey, “Les têtes des démons tombent par milliers: le fachang, rituel exorciste du nord de Taiwan.”; Hsu Li-ling, “Le rituel *fachang*: Un rituel d’exorcisme et de guérison effectué par les maîtres têtes rouges du nord de Taiwan”; Lin Chen-Yuan, “Zheng xie zhi bian, daofa zhi he: Taiwan beibu daofa ermen yuanliu” 正邪之辨、道法之合：臺灣北部道法二門源流; cf. Schipper, “Vernacular and Classical Ritual in Taoism.”.

¹⁰ Liu Chi-wan 劉枝萬, *Taipei shi Songshan qi'an jianjiao jidian* 台北市松山祈安建醮祭典.

that consisted of a fixed set of rites and scriptures and which involved several taboos. Such ceremonies were rather uncommon; although most priests could occasionally participate in *jiao* organized by other priests, only a minority ever have the chance to organize one by themselves, and few priests would have the chance to regularly organize a *jiao*.

The following table contains programs of two different three-day *jiao* carried out by priests in northern Taiwan. I have slightly adapted the programs, in the sense that I have unified the names of certain rites for which priests could use different names and have left out the daily noon offerings. The columns on the left give the program of a more or less typical (in the eyes of the northern priests) three-day *jiao* carried out during my fieldwork. The columns on the right give the program of a three-day *jiao* observed by Liu Chi-wan in the 1960s.

Table 1: Programs of two three-day *jiao*

2014 <i>jiao</i> in Yilan		1968 <i>jiao</i> in Zhonghe ¹¹	
Evening Before the First Day		Day 1, Morning	
發表	Announcement	發表	Announcement
Day 1, Morning		啓請	Invitation
啓請	Invitation	安灶	Invitation of the Lord of the Stove
請水	Invitation of the Spirit of the Well	請水	Invitation of the Spirit of the Well
安灶	Invitation of the Lord of the Stove	三官經	Scripture of the Three Offices
Day 1, Afternoon		北斗經	Scripture of the Northern Dipper
三官經	Scripture of the Three Offices	星辰懺	Penance of the Stars
北斗經	Scripture of the Northern Dipper	Day 1, Afternoon	
星辰懺	Penance of the Stars	上元懺	Penance of the Upper Prime
上元懺	Penance of the Upper Prime	中元懺	Penance of the Middle Prime

¹¹ Based on Liu Chi-wan 劉枝萬, *Taiwan minjian xinyang lunji* 臺灣民間信仰論集, p. 63.

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中元懺	Penance of the Middle Prime	下元懺	Penance of the Lower Prime
下元懺	Penance of the Lower Prime	Day 1, Evening	
祝燈延壽	Consecrating the lamps to Extend Life	解結	Untying the Knots
Day 1, Evening		祝燈延壽	Consecrating the Lamps to Extend Life
禁壇	Sealing the Altar	Day 2, Morning	
Day 2, Morning		早朝	Morning Audience
重白	Re-invitation	午朝	Noon Audience
早朝	Morning Audience	Day 2, Afternoon	
午朝	Noon Audience	晚朝	Evening Audience
Day 2, Afternoon		放水燈	Floating the Water Lanterns
晚朝	Evening Audience	Day 2, Evening	
解結	Untying the Knots	開啓	Opening and Invocation
開啓	Opening and Invocation	禁壇	Sealing the Altar
Day 2, Evening		Day 3, Morning	
放水燈	Floating the Water Lanterns	重白	Re-Invitation
Day 3, Morning		拜天公	Worshipping the Lord of Heaven
洪文夾讚	Recitation and Eulogy	洪文夾讚	Recitation and Eulogy
拜天公	Worshipping the Lord of Heaven	Day 3, Afternoon	
Day 3, Afternoon		宿朝	Nocturnal Audience
宿朝	Nocturnal Audience	Day 3, Evening	
祭吳沙	Offering to Go' Soa	普度	Universal Salvation
犒軍	Rewarding the Soldiers	敕符謝壇	Thanking the Altar and Consecrating the Talismans
普度	Universal Salvation		
敕符謝壇	Thanking the Altar and Consecrating the Talismans		

Although there are some differences between the two programs, most important perhaps the timing of some of the rites, a comparison of the contents of the two *jiao* makes clear that the rites that were part of a three-day *jiao* by the time I was doing fieldwork were more or less similar to that of the *jiao* observed by Liu Chi-wan in the 1960s. In total, Liu gives three programs of three-day *jiao* organized by what he calls ‘redhead priests’. All of these programs are relatively similar, in the sense that they more or less include the same rites. At the same time, the program on the left is comparable to that of other three-day *jiao* carried out during my fieldwork. It is thus probably safe to say that the contents of *jiao* carried out by priests in northern Taiwan remained relatively stable over the past five decades.¹²

The typical *jiao* of the northern priests would invariably start with a rite called hoat-pio 發表 or *Announcement*, which could be carried out either on the evening before the first day of the *jiao*, usually at 11:00 pm, which technically counts as the beginning of the (next) day, or early in the morning on the first day. The *Announcement* would be followed by several rites to invite deities to participate in the ceremony, which would in turn be followed by the recitation of different scriptures. Fixed features of the second day were the three different tiau-kho 朝科 or *Audiences*—the *Morning*, *Noon* and *Evening Audience*—and a rite called *Floating the Water Lanterns*, a rite intended to invite ghosts for the *Universal Salvation* that would be carried out on the third day. A few other rites, including important rites like

¹² Programs of *jiao* carried out by priests from other traditions are provided by Lagerwey (*Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History*, pp. 53-59, 293), Li Xianzhang 李獻璋 (“Daojiao jiaoyi de kaizhan yu xiandai de jiao: yi Taiwan Zhanghua Nanyaogong de qingcheng jiao wei xiandaijiao li” 道教醮義的開展與現代的醮：以臺灣彰化南瑤宮的慶成醮為現代醮例, pp. 38-9), Liu Chi-wan 劉枝萬 (*Taiwan minjian xinyang lunji* 臺灣民間信仰論集, pp. 334-6), Saso (*Zhuanglin xu daoang* 莊林續道藏, vol 1., p. 16; *Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal*, pp. 78-79) and Schipper (*Le Fen-teng: Rituel taoiste*, pp. 10-11). While some of the programs may at first glance also appear to be similar to that of the northern priests—they contain several rites with names that are identical to some rites in the programs given above and there is some overlap in the scriptures that are recited—the differences are more significant than might appear. Even if rites carry the same name and have a comparable function, they are carried out in a different way, make use of different texts, and are directed at different beings (see for instance Lü Ch’ui-k’uan 呂鍾寬, *Taiwan de daojiao yishi yu yinyue* 台灣的道教儀式與音樂, pp. 321-2).

Sealing the Altar, could either be carried out on the first or the second day. The most important rites of the third day included a fourth *Audience*, a rite usually referred to as pai Thiⁿ-kong 拜天公 or *Worshipping the Lord of Heaven* (but which was actually aimed at a broad range of deities), and a rite called pho'-to' 普度 or *Universal Salvation*.¹³

The program of a typical *jiao* may be compared with the program of a *jiao* included in a report by Marui Keijirō originally published in 1917. The program of this *jiao* is given below; again, I have slightly edited the name of some rites.

Table 2: Program of a three-day *jiao* given by Marui Keijirō¹⁴

Day 1	
發表	Announcement
啓請	Invitation
安灶	Invitation of the Lord of the Stove
灶君經	Scripture of the Lord of the Stove
福德經	Scripture of the God of the Locality
三官經	Scripture of the Three Offices
北斗經	Scripture of the Northern Dipper
星辰懺	Penance of the Stars
南辰經	Scripture of the Southern Star
上元懺	Penance of the Upper Prime

¹³ Occasionally, the northern priests would use the word *jiao* to refer to ceremonies that did not fulfill this basic program. Some priests would claim that a ceremony could be called a *jiao* if it contained at least one *Audience*; occasionally, the word *jiao* would even be used for ceremonies in which this was not the case. Still, most priests would agree that the words cho chio 做醮 or ‘carrying out a *jiao*’ should be used for *jiao* of three or more days, with a program similar to the ones given above. If ceremonies did not follow a program similar to the one given above, priests would not consider such a ceremony to be a ‘real’ *jiao*. In addition to following the above program, a ‘real’ *jiao* would enforce different taboos with regards to pollution and require the installation of *goa-toa* 外壇 or ‘outside altars’ and of teng-ko 燈篙—wooden poles used to invite hungry ghosts for the *Universal Salvation*.

¹⁴ Based on Marui Keijirō 丸井圭治郎, *Taiwan shukyō chosa hokoshō* 臺灣宗教調查報告書, vol. 1, pp. 137-9.

中元懺	Penance of the Middle Prime
下元懺	Penance of the Lower prime
龍神經	Scripture of the Dragon God
龍神懺	Penance of the Dragon God
解結	Untying the Knots
祝燈延壽	Consecrating the Lamps to Extend Life
Day 2	
早朝	Morning Audience
午朝	Noon Audience
放水燈	Floating the Water Lanterns
晚朝	Evening Audience
Day 3	
啓聖	Invitation to the Saints
禁壇	Sealing the Altar
重白	Re-Invitation
洪文夾讚	Recitation and Eulogy
拜天公	Worshipping the Lord of Heaven
宿朝	Nocturnal Audience
普度	Universal Salvation
敕符謝壇	Thanking the altar and Consecrating the Talismans

The similarities between Marui's program and the programs given above should be clear. It begins with rites to invite deities and the recitation of scriptures, continues with the first three *Audiences* and *Floating the Water Lanterns* on the second day, and finishes with the fourth *Audience*, *Worshipping the Lord of Heaven* and the *Universal Salvation* on the final day. The program does include extra scriptures on the first day; these scriptures have also been mentioned by Liu Chi-wan and were also part of the repertoire of the northern priests I observed. While it is, as far as I know, unclear where Marui's data was collected, the similarity with the two programs above suggests that it was a *jiao* carried out by predecessors of the northern priests. This suggestion is reinforced by the similarity between another program given by Marui, that of a ceremony carried out in case of serious illness, and the programs of ceremonies with the same purpose carried out by the northern

priests (compare Marui Keijirō 丸井圭治郎, *Taiwan shukyō chosa hokosho* 臺灣宗教調查報告書, vol. 1, pp. 150-2 and Lagerwey “Les têtes des démons tombent par milliers: le fachang, rituel exorciste du nord de Taiwan”, pp. 105-6). This is an important point, as this could very well mean that Marui’s program is the earliest extant program of a *jiao* of the tradition of the northern priests.

The Five-Day *Jiao*

Marui’s report also includes the program of a five-day *jiao*. According to this program, a five-day *jiao* consisted of a three-day *jiao* identical to the one already described above, to which a two-day ceremony carried out by Buddhist priests was added. Marui gives the following program for the two-day Buddhist ceremony:

Table 3: The Buddhist ceremony of the five-day *jiao*¹⁵

Day 1 (Day 4 of the <i>Jiao</i>)	
開壇	Opening the Altar
開光	Opening the Eyes
發表	Announcement
豎旛	Raising the Flags
請佛	Inviting the Buddhas
請三界	Inviting the Three Realms
請觀音	Inviting Guanyin
安灶	Installing the Lord of the Stove
安監齋	Installing the ‘Supervisor’
梁皇懺	Penance of the Emperor of the Liang
獻供	Offering
梁皇懺	Penance of the Emperor of the Liang
放水燈	Floating the Water lanterns
梁皇懺	Penance of the Emperor of the Liang

¹⁵ Based on Marui Keijirō 丸井圭治郎, *Taiwan shukyō chosa hokosho* 臺灣宗教調查報告書, vol. 1, pp. 139-141.

Day 2 (Day 5 of the <i>Jiao</i>)	
淨壇	Purifying the Altar
祝聖	Praising the Saints
金山拜醮	Offering of the Golden Mountain
梁皇懺	Penance of the Emperor of the Liang
金剛延壽	Recitation of the Diamond Sutra to Extend Life
謝三界	Thanking the Three Realms
揚幡巡筵	Waving the Flags and Touring the Offerings
普施	Universal Salvation
謝壇	Thanking the Altar
送神	Sending off the Spirits

Even without going into details with respect to the meaning of the different rites, it should probably be clear that the Buddhist part of the five-day *jiao* described by Marui follows a structure that shares similarities with that of the Taoist ceremony. Just like the latter, the Buddhist ceremony would include the performance of rites and the recitation of scriptures. Rites would include an *Announcement* and rites to invite deities (although the beings that were invited would not be the same as the ones invited by the Taoist priests), as well as a rite to set off water lanterns and a (Buddhist version of the) *Universal Salvation*. Recitation of the *Lianghuang baochan* 梁皇寶懺 or *Penance of the Emperor of the Liang*, a set of ten scriptures that has been attributed to Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, was spread over the two days of the ceremony.

Despite the similarities in structure, it may be argued that the Buddhist and Taoist ceremonies had different purposes. *Jiao* were supposed to bring benefits to the world of the living and the world of the dead (the phrase *mingyang liangli* 冥陽兩利 has been used to describe this dual purpose). In Marui's five-day *jiao*, Taoist and Buddhist priests each took care of one of these aspects; the Taoist rites were carried out on behalf of the living to ensure peace and prosperity for the community, while something similar may indirectly also be said of the Buddhist rites, which are related to helping the dead. In fact, the program of the Buddhist ceremony is quite similar to the program of two-day funerary ceremonies of priests from the *Sek-kau* tradition also active in northern Taiwan. As Yang Shih-hsien explains, the purpose of

the *Offering of the Golden Mountain* is to help hungry ghosts find refuge in the Three Treasures of Buddhism. According to Yang, it is the most important rite of the two-day Buddhist funerary ceremony. A similar purpose may be found in the *Lianghuang chan*, which is recited during both days of the ceremony. As David W. Chappell has argued, the *Lianghuang chan* shows the karmic consequences of performing evil acts and functions as an attempt to appeal for mercy for those who have committed such acts and as a result are suffering in their next existence. This may explain its role in Buddhist funerals, where it is supposedly recited to help the deceased repent, eliminate their karma, and give them a good rebirth.¹⁶ Whereas the Taoist ceremony mostly focused on peace and prosperity for the temple community, the Buddhist ceremony explicitly targeted the dead—a field that the northern priests would consider inauspicious and would, in theory at least, not touch.¹⁷

Five-day *jiao* like the ones described by Marui, that is, which consisted of a three-day Taoist and a two-day Buddhist ceremony, probably continued to be carried out in the decades that followed, although it is unclear how common such *jiao* were. A record of a *jiao* carried out in 1961 at a temple called Jingfugong 景福宮 or ‘Palace of Blessings’—the major temple of Taoyuan city which would often simply be called *toa-bio* 大廟 or ‘Big Temple’—gives a program that is broadly similar to that given by Marui. This *jiao* was organized by the grandfather of the priest who carried out a five-day *jiao* at the same temple in 2015; according to a musician in his seventies who participated both in the 1961 and 2015 *jiao*, the 1961 *jiao* was the first five-day *jiao* in Taiwan following the end of the Second World War. One remarkable feature of this *jiao* was the participation of Zhang Enpu 張恩溥, the sixty-third Celestial Master, who, after fleeing to Taiwan in 1949, had become active in the organization of different Taoist associations and developed close relations

¹⁶ Chappell, “The Precious Scroll of the Liang Emperor: Buddhist and Daoist Repentance to Save the Dead”; Yang Shih-hsien 楊士賢, *Taiwan Minnan sangli wenhua yu minjian wenxue* 臺灣閩南喪禮文化與民間文學.

¹⁷ It may be argued that Taoist priests also carried rites out for hungry ghosts, as evidenced by the performance of the *Universal Salvation*. Indeed, priests did have a saying that they initially did not carry out this particular rite; nevertheless, the *Universal Salvation* was, as far I know, not seen as inauspicious by the priests.

with different priests active in northern Taiwan.¹⁸

The following table gives the program of the 1961 *jiao* at Taoyuan's Big Temple. Rites carried out by Buddhist priests are marked with an asterisk; the three rites that, at least according to the record of the *jiao*, were carried out by Zhang Enpu have been marked with a double asterisk. Again, I have slightly edited the name of some rites.

Table 4: The 1961 Taoyuan *jiao*¹⁹

Day 1, Morning	
發表	Announcement
啓請	Invitation
請水 ²⁰	Invitation of the Spirit of the Well
安灶	Invitation of the Lord of the Stove
三官經	Scripture of the Three Offices
司命真君真經	Scripture of the Lord of the Stove
福德妙經	Scripture of the God of the Locality
Day 1, Afternoon	
天師淨壇啓聖**	Purifying the Altar and Inviting the Saints**
星辰寶懺	Penance of the Stars
北斗經	Scripture of the Northern Dipper
上元寶懺	Penance of the Upper Prime
中元寶懺	Penance of the Middle Prime

¹⁸ See Lee Li-liang 李麗涼, *Yidai tianshi: Zhang Enpu yu Taiwan Daojiao* 式代天師: 張恩溥與臺灣道教.

¹⁹ Based on Jingfugong 景福宮, *Jingfugong qi'an jianjiao jinianzhi* 景福宮祈安建醮紀念誌, p. 83.

²⁰ The original program calls this item chhiaⁿ chui-koan 請水官 or *Invitation of the Water Official*; the next item on the program, an chau 安灶 or *Installing the Lord of the Stove*, is actually announced as an chao cheⁿ 安灶井 or *Installing the Lord of the Stove and the Spirit of the Well*. The Spirit of the Well is not the same as the Water Official, and while the latter was certainly known to the northern priests, he would, as far as I know, not be invited separately prior to a *jiao*. For this reason, in the table above, I have not followed the original program but adapted it to the program as northern priests used to carry it out; I may however be mistaken.

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下元寶懺	Penance of the Lower Prime
Day 1, Evening	
解結	Untying the Knots
祝燈延壽	Consecrating the Lamps to Extend Life
Day 2, Morning	
早朝	Morning Audience
午朝	Noon Audience
Day 2, Afternoon	
天師飛符拜斗延壽消災**	Using Talismans to Worship the Dipper to Extend Life and Cancel Disaster**
晚朝	Evening Audience
放水燈	Floating the Water Lanterns
Day 2, Evening	
開啓	Opening and Invocation
禁壇	Sealing the Altar
Day 3, Morning	
重白 ²¹	Re-Invitation
洪文夾讚	Recitation and Eulogy
Day 3, Afternoon	
天師登台步罡拜表進玉皇表**	Ascending a Platform to perform cosmic steps and present the Jade Emperor's Memorial**
宿朝	Nocturnal Audience
犒軍 ²²	Offering to the Soldiers
Day 3, Evening	
普度	Universal Salvation
Day 4, Morning	
拜發表章*	Announcement*
啓請連請六神揚幡*	Invitation*

²¹ The original program gives tiong-pai 中白, which in Taiwanese has the same pronunciation as 重白 (which supposedly is the correct form).

²² Prior to the offering to the soldiers, the program also includes a rite referred to as keng Li Ma ji tai chiong-kun 敬李馬二大將軍 or *Revering the Two Great Generals Li and Ma*, two generals who are subordinates of the temple's main deity and whose statues may also be found in the temple.

安灶君、井神，安香辦爺*	Appeasing the Lord of the Stove, the Spirit of the Well, and the ‘Supervisor’,* ²³
梁皇懺十卷*	Penance of the Emperor of the Liang (ten scrolls)*
Day 4, Afternoon	
午供*	Noon Offering*
放水燈*	Floating the Water Lanterns*
Day 5, Morning	
午供*	Noon Offering*
謝天入醮	Thanking Heaven and Entering the <i>jiao</i>
Day 5, Afternoon	
金山科儀*	Rite of the Golden Mountain* ²⁴
普度* ²⁵	Universal Salvation*
謝壇送神*	Thanking the Altar and Sending Off the Deities*
* Performed by Buddhist priests	
** Performed by Zhang Enpu, the 63 rd Celestial Master	

While there are some differences, the similarities with the program given by Marui should be clear. The first three days follow the basic structure of the three-day *jiao* as it is given above, although the priests carried out the rite I refer to as *Worshipping the Lord of Heaven* on the fifth day rather than on the third (something which, according to some northern priests, was not uncommon for such *jiao*). As the program makes clear, Zhang Enpu carried out three different rites, none of which seemed to have been part of the repertoire of the northern priests prior to this particular *jiao*.

²³ For an explanation of this term, see Yang Shih-hsien 楊士賢, *Taiwan Minnan sangli wenhua yu minjian wenxue* 臺灣閩南喪禮文化與民間文學.

²⁴ Probably the same as the *Offering to the Golden Mountain* mentioned by Marui; see above.

²⁵ The program gives different rites, all of which may be seen as part of the *Universal Salvation*.

The fully Taoist Five-Day *Jiao*

By the time I was doing fieldwork, it seemed common knowledge among the northern priests that *jiao* consisting of a three-day Taoist and a two-day Buddhist ceremony had been carried out in the past. Priests would use the phrase sai-kong thau, hoe-siu" boe 師公頭和尚尾 or ‘Taoist head and Buddhist tail’ to refer to such *jiao*. Still, it seemed that *jiao* like this had become very rare and that few priests had ever participated in such a *jiao*. What this does not mean, however, is that five-day *jiao* in themselves had become rare. On the contrary, five-day *jiao* seemed to have become more common than three-day *jiao*.²⁶ None of the five-day *jiao* that were carried out during my fieldwork involved Buddhist priests; in all of these cases, the full five days of the *jiao* were conducted by Taoist priests.

Five-day *jiao* in which all rites were carried out by Taoist priests were not mentioned by Marui and may, in northern Taiwan at least, have been a more recent invention—something which was suggested by different priests. As far as I know, the earliest example of a fully Taoist *jiao* was the 1963 *jiao* at the Songshan Mazu temple, the first *jiao* of the northern priests studied by Liu Chi-wan, who later published its program. The program is given in the following table; again, I have slightly edited the names of different rites and left out the daily noon offerings.

Table 5: Program of the 1963 Songshan *jiao*²⁷

Day 1, Morning	
發表	Announcement
啓請	Invitation
安灶	Installation of the Lord of the Stove
封山禁水	Sealing the Mountains and Prohibiting the Waters
請水	Invitation of the Spirit of the Well
三官經	Scripture of the Three Offices

²⁶ cf. Liu Chi-wan 劉枝萬, *Taiwan minjian xinyang lunji* 臺灣民間信仰論集, p. 60.

²⁷ Based on Liu Chi-wan 劉枝萬, *Taiwan no Dōkyō to minkan shinkō* 台湾の道教と民間信仰, pp. 221-222.

北斗經	Scripture of the Northern Dipper
星辰懺	Penance of the Stars
Day 1, Afternoon	
上元懺	Penance of the Upper Prime
中元懺	Penance of the Middle Prime
下元懺	Penance of the Lower Prime
Day 1, Evening	
解結	Untying the Knots
祝燈延壽	Consecrating the Lamps to Extend Life
Day 2, Morning	
重白 ²⁸	Re-invitation
早朝	Morning Audience
玉皇經	Scripture of the Jade Emperor (3 vol.)
Day 2, Afternoon	
紫微懺	Penance of the Purple Tenuity
東斗經	Scripture of the Eastern Dipper
南斗經	Scripture of the Southern Dipper
西斗經	Scripture of the Western Dipper
Day 2, Evening	
放水燈	Floating the Water Lanterns
開啓	Opening and Invocation
禁壇	Sealing of the Altar
Day 3, Morning	
重白	Re-invitation
洪文夾讚	Recitation and Eulogy
午朝	Noon Audience
Day 3, Afternoon	
北斗經	Scripture of the Northern Dipper
中斗經	Scripture of the Central Dipper
朝天懺（一～三卷）	Penances in Homage to Heaven (scroll 1-3)

²⁸ Liu's original program gives 中白; see above, note 21.

Day 3, Evening	
普度	Universal Salvation
安龍謝土	Installing the Dragon and Thanking the Earth
Day 4, Morning	
懇留	Re-invitation (?) ²⁹
朝天（四～八卷）	Penances in Homage to Heaven (scroll 4-8)
Day 4, Afternoon	
晚朝	Evening Audience
Day 4, Evening	
放水燈	Floating the Water Lanterns
朝天（九～十卷）	Penances in Homage to Heaven (scroll 9-10)
Day 5, Morning	
暫留	Re-invitation (?) ³⁰
拜天公	Worshipping the Lord of Heaven ³¹
Day 5, Afternoon	
宿朝	Nocturnal Audience
Day 5, Evening	
普度	Universal Salvation
謝壇	Thanking the Altar

The basic structure of the three-day Taoist *jiao* can still be recognized in this program. The first day is comparable to the first day of the different three-day *jiao* of which the programs are given above.³² The three *Audiences* that were carried out on

²⁹ I am not sure of the meaning of the Chinese term; as far as I know, the priests would use it to indicate the end of the rites on the evenings prior to final day. I have interpreted it as a rite to re-invite the deities.

³⁰ See above, note 29.

³¹ Liu's program originally gives pai pio 拜表; the text makes clear that it refers to the rite priests would typically refer to as *Worshipping the Lord of Heaven*.

³² The program adds an element, or rite, called hong-san kim-chui 封山禁水 or *Sealing the Mountains and Prohibiting the Waters*. Although this rite was not mentioned by Marui, it was part of another *jiao* described by Liu Chi-wan and was probably already part of the repertoire of the northern priests (see Liu Chi-wan 劉枝萬, *Taipei shi Songshan qi'an*

the second day of the ‘original’ three-day *jiao* were spread out over the second, third and fourth day. The rite to pacify the temple’s dragon performed on the evening of the third day was not a standard feature of the three-day *jiao*, but was already mentioned by Marui (see Marui Keijirō 丸井圭治郎 *Taiwan shukyō chosa hokosho* 臺灣宗教調查報告書, p. 154) and was a common feature of *jiao* that were organized when construction at a temple was finished. The priests still conducted *Floating the Water Lanterns* on the evening of the second day and the *Universal Salvation* on the third day; these rites were repeated on the fourth and fifth day.

Spreading the rites of a three-day *jiao* over five days opened new time slots that had to be filled. During the Songshan *jiao*, an important part of this time was used for the recitation of scriptures—many of which were not mentioned by Marui. This includes the *Penance of the Purple Tenuity* and the *Scripture of the Jade Emperor*, both of which were also mentioned in the program of a 1967 three-day *jiao* carried out in Zhongli and provided by Liu Chi-wan. Other scriptures that do not seem to have any precedent in the repertoire of the priests are four of the *Five Dipper Scriptures*, i.e. the *Scriptures of the Eastern, Southern, Western and Central Dipper*, which were recited on the second and third day, and *Penances in Homage to Heaven*, which were recited from the third day onwards. I will return to these latter two sets of scriptures below.

In a certain sense, it seems that the Songshan *jiao* set a precedent for future fully Taoist five-day *jiao* (even if such *jiao* did probably remain rare until at least the 1980s). This becomes clear when comparing the program of the Songshan *jiao* to those of the other five-day *jiao* that have been published.³³ One possible

jianjiao jidian 台北市松山新安建醮祭典, p. 176). While I never saw such a rite performed, different priests mentioned its existence. Its meaning relates to the interdiction of meat that applies during the *jiao*.

³³ Published programs of fully Taoist five-day *jiao* carried out by northern priests include *jiao* at the Songshan Ciyongong 慈祐宮 in 1963 (see Liu Chi-wan 劉枝萬, *Taiwan no Dōkyō to minkan shrinkō* 台湾の道教と民間信仰, pp. 221-2); Taipei’s Cixiangong 慈誠宮 in 1971 (Liu Chi-wan 劉枝萬, *Taiwan no Dōkyō to minkan shrinkō* 台湾の道教と民間信仰, pp., 222-3); Taipei’s Huijigong 惠濟宮 in 2005 (Huijigong 惠濟宮, *Zhishan bacui huiji qunsheng: zhishanyan Huijigong yiyou nian wuchao qi’an fujiao* 芝山拔萃惠濟群生: 芝山巖惠濟宮乙酉年五朔新安福醮, pp. 118-22); Taoyuan’s Jingfugong in 1985, 1991, 1997,

explanation may be that, as noted by Liu Chi-wan, the Songshan *jiao* involved a large number of priests from different areas of northern Taiwan.³⁴ For many of these priests, the Songshan *jiao* may have become the example to follow when they themselves got the opportunity to carry out five-day *jiao*.

Below, I give the program of a five-day *jiao* that was carried out in 2015 at the *Jingfugong*, the same Taoyuan temple that had held the 1961 *jiao* of which the program was given above.

Table 6: The 2015 Taoyuan *jiao*

2015 Taoyuan <i>Jiao</i>	
Day 1, Morning	
發表	Announcement
請神	Invitation
請水	Invitation of the Spirit of the Well
安灶	Invitation of the Lord of the Stove
三官經	Scripture of the Three Offices

2003 and 2009 (Lü Ch'ui-k'uan 呂鍾寬, *Daojiao yishi yu yinyue zhi shenshengxing yu shisuhua* 道教儀式與音樂之神聖性與世俗化 vol. 1, pp. 125-6; Jingfugong 景福宮, *Jingfugong qingcheng qi'an wanjiao jinianzhi* 景福宮慶成祈安完醮紀念誌, pp. 310-26; *Jingfugong qi'an jianjiao jinianzhi* 景福宮祈安建醮紀念誌, pp. 196-212; *Guiwei nian Jingfugong qi'an wanjiao jiaozhi* 癸未年景福宮祈安完醮醮志, pp. 207-21; *Yichou nian Jingfugong qi'an jianjiao jiaozhi* 己丑年景福宮祈安建醮醮志, pp. 216-31); Luzhou's Yongliansi 湧蓮寺 in 1997 and 2009 (Yongliansi 湧蓮寺, *Luzhou Yongliansi dingchou nian wuchao qingcheng qi'an fujiaozhi* 蘆洲湧蓮寺丁丑年五朝慶成祈安福醮誌, pp. 70-1; *Luzhou Yongliansi yichou nian wuchao fu chengyuan jiaozhi* 蘆洲湧蓮寺己丑年五朝福成圓醮誌, pp. 169-72); Taoyuan Zhixuangong 指玄宮 in 1998 (Zhixuangong 指玄宮, *Danan Zhixuangong Qingcheng Qi'an Jianjiao Jinianzhi* 大湳指玄宮慶成祈安建醮紀念誌, p. 205). The program of a seven-day *jiao* at the Taipei Songshan Cihuitang 慈惠堂 carried out in 2005 is given in Songshan Cihuitang 松山慈惠堂, *Yaochi xian ruicai cihui ze shuli: Songshan Cihuitang 35 zhounian wuchao qingchao qi'an dadian* 瑤池獻瑞彩慈惠澤庶黎: 松山慈惠堂 35 週年五朝清醮祈安大典, pp. 44-49.

³⁴ See Liu Chi-wan 劉枝萬, *Taipei shi Songshan qi'an jianjiao jidian* 台北市松山祈安建醮祭典, p. 57.

福德經	Scripture of the God of the Locality
星辰懺	Penance of the Stars
Day 1, Afternoon	
上元懺	Penance of the Upper Prime
中元懺	Penance of the Middle Prime
下元懺	Penance of the Lower Prime
解結	Untying the Knots
Day 1, Evening	
祝燈延壽	Consecrating the Lamps to Extend Life
Day 2, Morning	
重白	Re-invitation
早朝	Morning Audience
Day 2, Afternoon	
東斗經	Scripture of the Eastern Dipper
西斗經	Scripture of the Western Dipper
放水燈	Floating the Water Lanterns
北斗經	Scripture of the Northern Dipper
Day 2, Evening	
中斗經	Scripture of the Central dipper
開啓	Opening and Invocation
Day 3, Morning	
重白	Re-Invitation
午朝	Noon Audience
Day 3, Afternoon	
玉皇經	Scripture of the Jade Emperor
紫微懺	Penance of the Purple Tenuity
朝天懺 1-4	Penances in Homage to Heaven 1-4
普度	Universal Salvation
Day 3, Evening	
禁壇	Sealing the altar
Day 4, Morning	
重白	Re-Invitation
朝天懺 5-7	Penances in Homage to Heaven 5-7

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洪文夾讚	Recitation and Eulogy
Day 4, Afternoon	
晚朝	Evening Audience
放水燈	Floating the Water Lanterns
Day 4, Evening	
朝天懺 8-10	Penances in Homage to Heaven 8-10
Day 5, Morning	
重白	Re-Invitation
登台拜表	Ascending the platform to Present the Memorial
拜天公	Worshipping the Lord of Heaven
拜正神	Worshipping the orthodox gods ³⁵
犒軍	Rewarding the Soldiers
Day 5, Afternoon	
宿朝	Nocturnal Audience
普渡	Universal Salvation
Day 5, Evening	
敕符謝壇	Thanking the Altar and Consecrating the Talismans

Just like the Songshan *jiao*, the five-day *jiao* I observed would all follow the example set by the Songshan *jiao* and have two performances of both *Floating the Water Lanterns* and of the *Universal Salvation*. The priests would often refer to the first performance as “vegetarian”, as no meat was supposed to be offered for the duration of the *jiao*, and was a simplified version of the rite that was carried out on the fifth day.

Another common feature of modern five-day *jiao* was the recitation of different scriptures that, at least as far as I know, first appeared in the program of the 1963 *jiao*. This includes the *Penance of the Purple Tenuity*, the *Scripture of the Jade Emperor*, the *Scriptures of the Five Dippers* and the *Penances in Homage to Heaven*. None of these scriptures is mentioned by Marui, and they do not appear in the program of the 1961 Taoyuan *jiao*. While this does not automatically mean that

³⁵ As priests explained this rite was aimed at all deities worshipped in the temple where a *jiao* was held. Cheng-sin 正神 or ‘orthodox gods’ is homophonous with cheng-sin 眾神, which here would simply mean ‘all gods’; priests themselves would make this connection.

these scriptures were not part of the repertoire of priests in northern Taiwan prior to the Songshan *jiao*, I am not aware of any evidence that suggests that these scriptures were part of a standard program of a fully Taoist five-day *jiao* in northern Taiwan prior to the Songshan *jiao*—if such a standard program even existed. Below, I discuss the introduction of these new scriptures, focusing on the *Scriptures of the Five Dippers and the Penances in Homage to Heaven*.

The Scriptures of the Five Dippers

The *Scriptures of the Five Dippers*—one for each of the five cardinal directions—can be dated to the Song dynasty.³⁶ By the time I was doing fieldwork, recitation of the five different scriptures was not limited to five-day *jiao* but was also included in other ceremonies of the northern priests. Interestingly enough, different priests would recite these scriptures in different ways, something which would not be the case for most other rites or scriptures and may perhaps be interpreted as a sign that it was a more recent addition to the repertoire of the northern priests.

With the exception of the *Scripture of the Northern Dipper*, the other four texts are not mentioned by Marui. Their names do not appear in an overview of late Qing manuscripts in use by priests in southern Taiwan published by Schipper, nor in a list of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century manuscripts belonging to priests from Zhao'an.³⁷ Still, some priests in different parts of Taiwan did own manuscripts that may have been from this particular era. Manuscript editions of the texts dating from the Qing are included in the *Zhuang-Lin xu daoang* 莊林續道藏, a collection of texts collected in Hsinchu and published by Michael Saso. Their appearance in the *Zhuang-Lin xu daoang* may be connected to the fact that part of Hsinchu's tradition was directly imported from Mt. Longhu, the seat of the Celestial Masters in the late nineteenth century by Lin Rumei 林汝梅, a famous Hsinchu priest who had stayed in Mt. Longhu for several years (see Saso, *Taoist Master Chuang*). Although an important part of the *Zhuang-Lin xu daoang* consists of texts from a so-called

³⁶ See Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* or Pregadio, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*.

³⁷ Lin Chen-yuan, "Le Taoïsme du sud-est du Fujian"; Schipper, "Taiwan zhi Daojiao wenxian" 臺灣之道教文獻.

‘blackhead’ tradition—priests who carried out funerals and who were, by the northern priests at least, not seen as Cheng-it priests—it is possible that some of these texts, including the *Scriptures of the Five Dippers*, came in the possession of some of their predecessors. One northern priest I spoke to did own undated, handwritten copies of the *Scripture of the Southern Dipper*, the *Scripture of the Western Dipper*, the *Scripture of the Eastern Dipper*, and the *Scripture of the Central Dipper*. These manuscripts had supposedly been in the family since the time that his great-grandfather, who was born in the late nineteenth century, was active, if not earlier. Interestingly, a manuscript of the rite of the *Invitation* written by this priest’s grandfather includes the name of Lin Rumei in its list of ‘ancestral masters’—a fixed part of the *Invitation*. This might perhaps explain how this priest’s family obtained copies of these texts; at the same time, the inclusion of Lin Rumei—a ‘blackhead’ priest—among the ancestral masters included in the *Invitation* of the northern priests was, as far as I know, unique. Another northern priest owned a manuscript of the *Scripture of the Southern Dipper* that was dated 1872 and claimed that manuscripts of the *Scriptures of the Eastern, Western and Central Dipper* from the same era had been stolen in the recent past. Still, based on their absence in Marui’s report, the variation that existed in the way they were recited, and comments by priests, I would argue that even if the *Scriptures of the Five Dippers* may thus all have been present in northern Taiwan since at least the late Qing, four of the scriptures—the *Scripture of the Southern Dipper*, the *Scripture of the Western Dipper*, the *Scripture of the Eastern Dipper* and the *Scripture of the Central Dipper*—were not widely used among priests in northern Taiwan until perhaps the 1950s.

This changed after Zhang Enpu, the sixty-third Celestial Master arrived in northern Taiwan in 1949. In 1954, a few years prior to the Songshan *jiao*, Zhang Enpu published the *Scriptures of the Five Dippers*. Together with the text of one of the rites that he (probably) carried out during the 1961 Taoyuan *jiao*, these were the only ritual texts Zhang Enpu published before embarking on a project to publish the Taoist canon. According to Lee Li-liang, Zhang Enpu encouraged priests to familiarize themselves with the contents of the *Scriptures of the Five Dippers*. The priest who organized the Songshan *jiao*—which may have been the first *jiao* in which these scriptures were recited—was active in the Taiwan Provincial Taoist Association, an association of priests that had been set up by Zhang Enpu; it is quite

likely that he was aware of Zhang's edition of the texts and his recommendations to use them.³⁸ After the publication of the texts, and perhaps also following their use in the 1962 Songshan *jiao*, recitation of all the *Scriptures of the Five Dippers*—as opposed to the recitation of only the *Scripture of the Northern Dipper*—may have slowly spread among the northern priests.

The Penances in Homage to Heaven

The *Penances in Homage to Heaven*, in ten volumes, are of a slightly more recent date than the *Scriptures of the Five Dippers*, yet, they have probably been part of Taiwanese Taoist practice for a longer period of time, at least in southern Taiwan. While Lee Fong-mao has noted that all over Taiwan, a *jiao* would only be considered to be a 'real' five-day *jiao* if these texts were recited, the existence of the combined Taoist and Buddhist five-day *jiao* shows that this was not always the case, although the *Penances in Homage of Heaven* had indeed become a fixed element of the five-day *jiao* of the northern priests by the time I was doing fieldwork.³⁹

It is safe to say that the inclusion of the *Penances in Homage of Heaven* is unrelated to the arrival of Zhang Enpu. Schipper's overview of Qing manuscripts of priests in southern Taiwan does include the *Penances in Homage of Heaven*; they are also included in the *Zhuang-Lin xu daoze* and in Lin Chen-yuan's list of manuscripts owned by priests from Zhao'an. Even if some priests in northern Taiwan did probably have access to the *Penances in Homage to Heaven*, however, I am—apart for one possible and (rather questionable) exception—not aware of any references to recitation of the *Penances in Homage to Heaven* by the northern priests prior to the Songshan *jiao*.⁴⁰ In northern Taiwan, ownership of the texts

³⁸ See Lee Li-liang 李麗涼, *Yidai tianshi: Zhang Enpu yu Taiwan Daojiao* 式代天師：張恩溥與臺灣道教, pp. 86, 201-2, 219.

³⁹ See Lee Fong-mao 李豐楙, "Zhenlangong jian *jiao* keyi zhi tantao" 鎮瀾宮建醮科儀之探討.

⁴⁰ Saso (*Zhuanglin xu daoze* 莊林續道藏, pp. 1, 16) includes recitation of the *Penance in Homage of Heaven* in the undated program of a three-day *jiao* supposedly carried out by 'redhead' priests; unfortunately, he does not give any further information on the source of this program or where and when it was carried out. The ceremony mentions a rite to send off

seems, initially at least, to have been limited to a small number of families. I heard priests mention several ways by which they or their family got their copy of the text—from other priests from the same tradition, from other priests from a different tradition, or directly from the Taoist Canon, access to which slowly became easier in Taiwan after 1949.

Priests generally agreed on the reason why the *Penances in Homage to Heaven* were part of the program of their *jiao*. As mentioned above, when a *jiao* consisted of a three-day Taoist and a two-day Buddhist ceremony, the purpose of the latter was to bring benefit to the dead. For this purpose, the Buddhist part included different elements, including the recitation of the ten volumes of the *Penance of the Emperor of the Liang*, the purpose of which was to help the dead achieve a favorable rebirth. The priest who was responsible for the *jiao* had supposedly told the people of the temple who organized the *jiao* that they would not have to hire Buddhist priests for the *jiao*, as he himself was also able to carry out rites for the benefit of the deceased. Different priests confirmed that the *Penances in Homage to Heaven* did serve such a purpose, claiming that recitation of the scripture would benefit the ancestors of the living who had commissioned the *jiao*. Indeed, in the text of the scripture, the Celestial Worthy of Original Commencement (*Yuanshi Tianzun* 元始天尊) explains the karmic causes of misfortune and suffering, both for those living in this world and those living in the underworld, and the ways to escape from them. While not exactly similar, the *Penances in Homage to Heaven* and the *Penance of the Emperor of the Liang* do thus share a comparable theme. Their availability, the fact that it comes in ten volumes, and the similar theme made the *Penances in Homage to Heaven* a fitting Taoist alternative for the *Lianghuang baochan*.

Both the *Penances in Homage to Heaven* and the *Scriptures of the Five Dippers* were not part of the three-day and five-day *jiao* described by Marui, which, as I argued above, may very well have been the earliest *jiao* carried out by priests in northern Taiwan to have been described. They did however become part of almost all *jiao* of five or more days in Northern Taiwan in which the rites were carried out exclusively by Taoist priests in the decades after the Songshan *jiao*. The two sets of

a Royal boat; such ceremonies were, as far as I know, never part of the repertoire of priests in northern Taiwan. The *Penances in Homage to Heaven* is not mentioned in the program of a 'redhead' *jiao* given in his *Taoism and the Rite of Cosmic Renewal*.

scriptures were included for different reasons; in both cases, however, the specific circumstances in which the priests were active played a decisive role in their inclusion to the *jiao*. Something similar applies to a rite which I have not discussed in this paper—the rite called *Ascending the Platform*, first carried out by Zhang Enpu during the 1961 Taoyuan *jiao*.

The standard program of the fully Taoist five-day *jiao* of the northern priests that developed in the decades following the 1960s was an extension of the three-day *jiao*. The three *Audiences* that were initially part of the second day were now carried out on the second, third and fourth day. Still, it generally conformed to the structure set out in the ‘traditional’ form, that is, the program of rites in the combined Taoist-Buddhist five-day *jiao* described by Marui, including double performances of *Floating the Water Lanterns* and the *Universal Salvation*.

In the preceding discussion, I have made no reference to *jiao* organized by priests from Zhao’an—the area where the tradition of the northern priests has its roots. Research by Lin Chen-yuan makes clear that the three-day *jiao* of priests from Zhao’an is more or less similar to that of the northern priests;⁴¹ unfortunately, however, no study of the five-day *jiao* of the priests of Zhao’an has been published so far. Nevertheless, the program of a five-day *jiao* carried out in the town of Xiuzhuan 秀篆 in Zhao’an in 2013 provided to me by Lin Chen-yuan shows that the five-day *jiao* in Zhao’an has much in common with the five-day *jiao* of Northern Taiwan, with the former also including recitations of the ten scrolls of the *Penances in Homage to Heaven*, although it only included recitation of four of the *Scriptures of the Five Dippers* and rites were arranged at different times. I would argue that, minor as they may seem, these differences can be taken as a sign that the five-day *jiao* in northern Taiwan developed independently from that of Zhao’an; further research in Zhao’an would however be necessary to be certain.

⁴¹ See Lin Chen-yuan 林振源 “Minnan Kejia diqu de daojiao yishi: sanchao jiao ge’an” 閩南客家地區的道教儀式：三朝醮個案”.

Conclusion

Evidence seems to suggest that priests in northern Taiwan only started to carry out five-day *jiao* by themselves in the 1960s. For the priests, organizing a five-day *jiao* was probably more prestigious than organizing a three-day *jiao* (and perhaps also financially more rewarding); at the same time, for temples, it might have been more convenient to have one party organize the complete ceremony. Programs from the 1970s and 1980s onward show remarkable consistencies with the program of the Songshan *jiao*, which itself was based on the three-day *jiao* of the northern priests. One of the major differences between the modern five-day *jiao* and the three-day *jiao* described by Marui was the inclusion of several ‘new’ scriptures, of which the *Penance in Homage of Heaven* and the *Scriptures of the Five Dippers* were the most important. While one explanation for this consistency may be that these priests simply followed a long-established model for the five-day *jiao*, similar to the one that apparently existed for the three-day *jiao*, I would argue that such a model only came into being following the 1963 Songshan *jiao*. The program of this latter *jiao* was the result of specific historical circumstances, including the arrival of Zhang Enpu and the existence of a particular Buddhist tradition that, perhaps for the first time in Northern Taiwan, was not involved in a five-day *jiao*. Due to the way in which *jiao* were organized, with priests from different altars all participating in the same ceremony, ideas on the correct way to organize a *jiao* would have easily spread when they returned to their own altars after the *jiao*. If the form of the five-day *jiao* that became popular in the 1970s and 1980s was not the result of a predetermined conception of what a Cheng-it *jiao* should look like, it did eventually become a model that, in northern Taiwan, had to be followed by in order to be seen as a ‘true’ Cheng-it priests.

(本文於 2017 年 10 月 23 日收稿，2017 年 12 月 19 日通過刊登)

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道教傳統中的儀式變遷： 以台灣北部醮儀發展為例

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摘要

道教儀式時常被描述成是歷久傳承不變的活化石，由歷代祖師傳承至今。許多台灣道士至今仍在展演的儀式的確有長久的歷史，但若只聚焦於儀式的歷史延續性則容易忽視儀式能夠隨時代變化並確實有變遷的事實。本文以台灣北部為例，討論醮儀中出現的幾種新元素在特定歷史情境下如何被醮儀吸收成為醮儀節目的一部分，並在被吸收後迅速成為節目中固定的一部分。主要資料為不同學者於不同時期觀察醮儀的學術筆記、廟方出版的醮志，以及筆者自己於 2013-2017 的田野紀錄。

關鍵字：道教、台灣、醮、儀式變遷

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